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United States
Department of
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Forest Service

A HISTORY OF OUTDOOR RECREATION DEVELOPMENT IN NATIONAL FORESTS 1891-1942

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A HISTORY OF OUTDOOR RECREATION DEVELOPMENT IN NATIONAL FORESTS 1891-1942

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Foreword

Hunting and fishing are two of the oldest occupations and avocations of human beings. Hiking and swimming are two of our oldest pleasures. Picnicking and camping in the woods date back to the beginning of urban civilization. The psychological tensions brought on by the growth of industrialism in the nineteenth century made it even more necessary for people to find temporary escape in the woods. By the turn of the twentieth century many Americans were spending summer holidays at commercial camps, lodges, or boarding houses near mountain rivers and lakes. Also at that time many city dwellers began building cabins in nearby forests for weekends and vacations in quiet and cool surroundings. The creation of Federal forest reserves had just increased the potential for satisfying public recreation needs. Much of the impetus for the establishment of these reserves (renamed National Forests in 1907) had come from hiking and other outdoor recreation and conservation groups who loved the lure of the woods and felt strongly that forested areas should be placed under official governmental protection.

Recreation use of the forest reserves grew slowly at first, then more rapidly as automobiles became numerous and roads penetrated further into what had previously been remote and inaccessible areas. General prosperity and more leisure time increased the human flow into the National Forests, a flow which eventually became a flood. More and more improvements had to be provided for forest visitors, starting with sanitary facilities to protect public health and fireplaces to prevent forest fires. This booklet tells the story of the beginnings and early growth of Forest Service planning to meet these needs.

William C. Tweed researched and wrote this study while on the staff of the Forest Service History Section in Washington, D.C. Before coming to the Forest Service, he worked in the historic preservation program of the Western Region of the National Park Service in San Francisco, and as a park interpreter at Sequoia National Park. He left the Forest Service in January 1978 to return to the Park Service. Tweed received his Ph.D. in history from Texas Christian University and has written several articles on the history of conservation and national parks.

Much of the data collected for this study came from Forest Service records stored at the National Archives. The Forest Service is indebted to Archives personnel for their assistance. Communications from former Forest Service recreation personnel, R. D. Bonnet, Victor Linthacum, and Albert Weisendanger, also contributed important information. Materials compiled by Frank Waugh, A. D. Taylor, and Arthur H. Carhart, landscape architects who at times were employed by the Forest Service, were indispensable in writing this history.

Dennis M. Roth, Head
History Section,
Forest Service

Explanation of Reference Notes

A consolidated system of citing sources is used in this publication. In most cases, more than one reference is included under one number. This is done by accumulating all of the references that have occurred after the previous number. Whenever a source is quoted, the text gives a partial citation that will direct the reader to the full citation in the reference notes section.

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PART I—The Beginnings, 1891-1919

> Plans for the management of the National Forests must aim to provide for an orderly development of all their resources. . . . Such plans would be incomplete if they failed to take into account . . . recreation resources. . . . In short, the National Forests . . . must be administered with a view to recreation use as one of their major functions . . .

These statements in the 1919 annual *Report of the Forester* gave official recognition to the prominence that recreational use of the National Forests had reached after two decades of steady growth. It formally affirmed that both careful planning and continuing management were now required to meet public demands for this use. However, earlier annual reports (1912, 1913, 1916, 1917) had mentioned recreational activity on National Forests, and the steps already taken by the Forest Service to attract visitors and provide for their comfort and pleasure. The 1917 report stated that "The use of some of the National Forests for recreation purposes is . . . one of the major activities. . . ." Both protection and development measures were involved. The granting of temporary leases for summer cottage and camp sites was a major early action taken to encourage public recreation on the Forests.

People had resorted to forests for pleasure, of course, long before the first Federal "forest reserves" were created by Presidential proclamation in 1891 under a provision of the Act of Congress of March 3 often called the Creative Act. As Hans Huth so ably explains in his comprehensive study of the subject, significant changes in American attitudes toward outdoor recreation and scenic resources paralleled the growth of the republic. By the late 19th Century an appreciation of the esthetic and recreational aspects of nature had become widespread. It became certain that the public forests would be used for recreation if they were made accessible.

The General Land Office Period

Active management and development of the forest reserves began under the so-called Organic Act of June 4, 1897[1]. Even before the first forest rangers took to the woods throughout the remote mountains of the West in the summer of 1898, picnickers, hikers, campers, hunters, and fishermen, individually and as families and other groups, were among the regular users of the reserves. These early hardy adventurers traveled at first on foot or in horse-drawn vehicles, and in most reserves were few and well dispersed. They usually made little impact on particular sites and thus were only a minor concern for forest managers, and at first few or no facilities were provided by the Federal Government. Most of the reserves were too far from cities to draw many people. However, a few reserves, particularly in southern California, northern Oregon, and central Colorado, were close enough to growing urban centers to attract increasing numbers of visitors to a few choice recreation sites.

The first rules and regulations issued by the General Land Office (GLO), Department of the Interior, in 1897 and 1900, made only a passing reference to public recreation. In discussing sheep grazing, it was stated that this practice would be restricted when necessary "upon and in the vicinity of . . . well known places of public resort or reservoir supply." However, the substantially revised and enlarged regulations issued by GLO in 1902 did provide for recreational uses of the reserves. It was stated that permits could be secured for the building and maintenance of sanitariums and hotels at mineral and other springs, and that land could be leased there for a fee for certain periods of time. (This authority was specifically provided by Congress in the Act of February 28, 1899.) Camping and travel for pleasure or recreation were specifically mentioned. The Forest Reserve Manual expressed some concern over the possibility of encouraging a monopoly of choice sites and interfering with others seeking recreation in the same location. In the form in which the forest officer reported to the GLO Commissioner on the application for locating a hotel or sanitarium on a forest reserve, one of the questions to be answered was: "If the location is at shore of lake or bank of stream, will the granting of this privilege involve any monopoly of specially desirable camping grounds or place of resort, and will it otherwise enable the applicant to hinder other persons in the use and enjoyment of the reserve?"[2]

Figure 1.—*Summer cabin in San Bernardino Forest Reserve east of Los Angeles, Calif., 1899.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-24312)

The Forest Service Takes Over

After the reserves were shifted from the General Land Office to the Bureau of Forestry (renamed Forest Service) in the Department of Agriculture under the Transfer Act of February 1, 1905, major improvements occurred in their administration, including strong direction, a powerful sense of mission for the public good, an infusion of dedicated young professional foresters, decentralization of authority, and the resultant creation of high morale—all missing from the old GLO which had already lost its short-lived forestry leadership. The terms *National* Forests and Forest *Service* symbolized Chief Gifford Pinchot's philosophy that public forest lands were to be utilized and not merely reserved. Furnishing reasonable amounts of free wood to residents in the vicinity of the reserves, allowing logging, grazing, and water power development under regulation, and controlling fire, erosion, and pilfering so that the forests would remain productive and renew themselves were his principal concerns. In the rules for management of the transferred reserves which Pinchot directed be drawn up by a committee of forest officers in the spring of 1905, the provisions of the 1902 Manual for granting permits for hotels and sanitariums were continued, and summer residences were added to the list. These provisions marked the beginning of Forest Service policies regarding recreational use by the general public.[3]

Pinchot worked hard to create a positive, helpful image for his new Service. However, recreation was an incidental use in his view. Nevertheless, the purposely broad and often vaguely defined "opening" of the forest reserves to use could not fail but to encourage people who sought opportunity for recreation in natural surroundings. By 1912 this had grown to such proportions that recreation received mention for the first time in the annual *Report of the Forester* (Chief), who by now was Henry S. Graves:

> . . . With the construction of new roads and trails the forests are visited more and more for recreation purposes, and in consequence the demand is growing rapidly for sites on which summer camps, cottages, and hotels may be located. In some of the most accessible and desirable localities the land has been divided into suitable lots of from 1 to 5 acres to accommodate as many visitors as possible. The regulations of the department for handling this class of business seem to be entirely satisfactory. Permits are issued promptly and on conditions with which permittees willingly comply. . . .

The discussion of recreation in the 1913 annual report was longer. It said in part:

> Recreation use of the Forests is growing very rapidly, especially on Forests near cities of considerable size. Hundreds of canyons and lake shores are now dotted with camps and cottages built on land use of which is obtained through permits of the Forest Service. This is a highly important form of use of the Forests by the public, and it is recognized and facilitated by adjusting commercial use of the Forests, when

Figure 2.—*Commercial resort in Sawtooth National Forest, near Boise in southern Idaho, 1911. Bathhouse at rear.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-1830A)

> necessary. . . . Examples . . . are the exclusion of stock . . . the prohibition of use of certain canyons for (stock) driveways, and provision in timber sales for very light cutting, or not cutting at all, close to lakes and elsewhere where it is desirable to preserve the natural beauty of the location unmarred, for the enjoyment of the public. . . .

The 1913 report went on to discuss the need for sanitary regulation to protect public health. It noted that the thousands of such recreation permits issued included pleasure resorts and boathouses.

Recreation statistics for all Districts, later called Regions, were provided for the first time in the 1913 report, which listed 1.5 million "pleasure seekers" during the 1912–13 fiscal year, of which a little over 1 million were day visitors (picnickers, wayfarers, etc.). Campers, including those engaged in hunting, fishing, berry or nut picking, boating, bathing, climbing, etc., totaled 231,000, and guests at houses, hotels, sanitariums, etc., came to 191,000. It added wistfully that, "The pleasure seekers are the greatest source of fire danger, while the settlers are the greatest protection, except where the theory of 'light burning' has been advanced."

The first areas of greatest concentration of summer visitors were on the Angeles National Forest of southern California, the Oregon (later changed in name to Mt. Hood) National Forest in northern Oregon, and the Pike and San Isabel National Forests of central Colorado, all in mountains near cities.

Even before the creation of the San Gabriel Forest Reserve (now part of the Angeles and Los Padres National Forests) in 1892, the San Gabriel Mountains, rising steeply from the northern suburbs of Los Angeles, had attracted many fishermen, hunters, hikers, and other recreational users. By the time that the first ranger appeared on the reserve in 1898, the west-slope canyons of the range contained popular hiking trails and a series of privately owned mountain lodges. Aside from maintaining trails, however, the General Land Office and then the Forest Service did not at first provide much in the way of public facilities for these forest visitors. Priorities, budget limitations and custom precluded recreation spending by the Federal Government, so to a large extent these visitors depended upon privately owned facilities for their basic needs.

Nevertheless, even without funds, beginnings were made, as this account shows:

> Forest rangers took time to clear inflammable material from around heavily used camp spots and to build crude rock fireplaces. They erected toilets and dug garbage pits whenever materials could be obtained. They developed and fenced sources of water supply for campers. They made and put up signs to guide people and caution them about care with fire. Congress made no appropriations for such special needs for many years but ingenious rangers fashioned camp stoves and fireplaces of rock, tin cans, and scrap iron; tables, toilets, and garbage pit covers were made from lumber scraps and wooden boxes, and crude signs were painted and displayed on rough-hewn shakes. Many of these earlier improvements were raw looking and some of them were clearly out of place in the forest environment, but they filled a real need.

This same source disclosed that in 1909 the North Pacific District reported 45,000 recreation visits, and the Rocky Mountain District, 115,000 visits.[4]

Expansion of Summer Homes and Resorts

After 1910 it became increasingly apparent that more encouragement to families and resort operators was needed to meet the demand for recreational facilities. The Forest Service had recognized the need to allow recreation structures, with its permit policy. However, the lack of a long-term permit policy discouraged construction of major permanent facilities. The Term Occupancy Act of March 4, 1915, strongly supported by the Forest Service, permitted it to allow private use and development of public forest lands for terms of up to 30 years by persons or organizations wishing to erect summer camps, hotels, or other resorts. The legislation filled an important need on forests like the Angeles. By 1917 dozens of summer cabins had sprouted in the San Gabriels. Privately financed resorts and lodges, built under the provisions of the Act along mountain trails, led to what one author has called "The Great Hiking Era" of San Gabriel Mountain history. And not all of the new resorts were privately owned. The City of Los Angeles, for example, built a summer camp on 23 acres at Seeley Creek Flats in the San Bernardino Mountains which contained 61 bungalow cabins available to the residents of the city. The camp was still in operation in 1980. By June 30, 1920, 1,329 permits for summer residences and commercial resorts were in effect on the Angeles National Forest.

Holders of summer-home permits often formed cooperative associations to provide common facilities and services, including

> community docks, boathouses, water systems, telephone and power services, and buildings for community meetings . . . watchman services, delivery of supplies, and fire protection. Associations also afford a medium through which forest users can advise the Forest Service of their needs and by round-table discussion arrive at an amicable solution of common problems. Summer homes proved to be very popular in the National Forests.[5]

The old Oregon National Forest provided Portland, Oreg., with recreation opportunities similar to those which the Angeles provided Los Angeles. The Oregon National Forest included not only Mt. Hood and its surrounding terrain but also the southern wall of the Columbia River Gorge, where the Columbia cuts through the Cascade Mountains. The gorge, with its spectacular forested cliffs, had long been recognized as one of the prime scenic resources of the Pacific Northwest. Long before the turn of the century, it had been easily accessible via railway and steamboat. When the Columbia

Figure 3.—*Los Angeles municipal camp under lease in San Bernardino Mountains in 1916, then a part of Angeles National Forest. It was still in operation in 1980. Many youth groups lease camp sites on National Forest land.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-33370A)

Figure 4.—*Summer cabin community in San Bernardino Mountains in 1916, under lease on National Forest land. This section became part of the San Bernardino National Forest in 1925. Term Lease Law of 1915 greatly stimulated summer and resort building on Federal lands.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-33383A)

Gorge Scenic Highway opened the area to highway traffic, however, certain factions within the Portland community concerned with the preservation of scenic values took up the problem of how to prevent the degradation of the Oregon bank of the gorge that might result from unrestricted tourist development.

Two Portland organizations in particular took an interest in the preservation of the Oregon bank—the Portland Chamber of Commerce and the Progressive Business Mens' Club of Portland. Certainly their support played a crucial role in Forester Henry Graves' decision to recommend to the Secretary of Agriculture that an area some 22 miles long and 4 to 6 miles wide (13,873 acres) along the Oregon bank of the gorge be designated as the Columbia Gorge Park division of the Oregon National Forest. Secretary David Houston's order to that effect, dated December 24, 1915, appears to mark the first time the Forest Service dedicated an extended area to purely recreational use. The order prohibited timber sales and the distribution of permits for homesites.

First Developed Campground

Having closed the Columbia River Gorge Park to the development of summer cabins or private resorts, the Forest Service found itself forced to assume greater responsibility for recreational facility development than it had done in other areas of high recreational potential. During the summer of 1916 the Oregon National Forest developed the Eagle Creek Campground within the Park. Because the area was already so readily accessible and popular, this new camping area could not be merely another undeveloped site set aside for the use of campers as had been most earlier "camp grounds" in the National Forests. At Eagle Creek, apparently for the first time, the Forest Service undertook the construction of a public campground in the modern sense. Facilities included camp tables, toilets, a check-in station, and a ranger station. And the Forest Service's recreational plans for the Park did not end with the dedication of the campground in July 1916, for even then work was progressing on the 13.5-mile-long Eagle Creek Trail. Built specifically for recreational use, the trail purposely sought out scenic routes, even tunneling at one point behind a waterfall.

Figure 5.—*First visitor register points were provided in the West by the Forest Service in 1916. This photo was taken late that year at a public campground on the Wenatchee National Forest, Wash., along the old Sunset Highway.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-33531A)

Figure 6.—*This restroom was built in 1916 at Eagle Creek campground, Oregon National Forest (renamed Mt. Hood in 1924), along the Columbia Gorge Scenic Highway east of Portland. It is probably the first substantial unit of this kind built by the Forest Service. Many sizes and styles in shingle, clapboard, log, and stone masonry appeared on National Forests throughout the country during the next 25 years. Chemical and flush toilets came late in the 1930's at the most densely used sites.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-33347A)

Figure 7.—*Family picnicking at site in Snoqualmie National Forest near Seattle, Wash., using their own portable camp stove, May 1919. Table is new.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-41353A)

The easy accessibility and great beauty of the Columbia Gorge Park assured its rapid acceptance by the public. During the summer of 1919, nearly 150,000 people enjoyed the Eagle Creek facilities, and a descriptive pamphlet of the time described work underway on several similar sites. Early in 1919 the North Pacific District of the Forest Service, headquartered in Portland, created a recreation office and put Fred W. Cleator, who had until then been Deputy Forest Supervisor of the Colville National Forest in eastern Washington, in charge. The name of his office was broadened to "land classification" in 1921 and to "lands" in 1922.[6]

The Parks-Forest Issue

In his 1976 history of the Forest Service, Harold K. Steen suggested that at least a part of the Forest Service's new interest in recreation development in the years between 1910 and 1920 may have resulted from the constant creation of National Parks out of National Forests, and other events associated with the birth of the National Park Service within the Department of the Interior. Pinchot and his old Division and Bureau of Forestry had campaigned to assume the administration of the National Parks even while they had fought for control of the forest reserves. This ambition did not fade after 1905 when the reserves came under Pinchot's control. By 1910 a campaign had developed to create a separate Bureau of National Parks within the Department of the Interior. Neither Pinchot, nor his successor as Forester, Henry Graves, viewed this endeavor with favor. Mistrust was apparent on both sides of the issue. John Muir, Robert Underwood Johnson, and other supporters of the park bureau concept based their rejection of possible Forest Service management of the National Parks largely on fears resulting from Pinchot's support of the controversial Hetch Hetchy reservoir project (for San Francisco) within Yosemite National Park in the California Sierras. Pinchot and Graves, on the other hand, judged the strict preservation creed of the park bureau supporters to be unnecessarily limiting. To set aside as National Parks large tracts of land, thus precluding productive timber management, hydro-electric power generation, and grazing, seemed to them ridiculously wasteful of the Nation's resources.

Mt. Rainier National Park had been created from part of the Mt. Rainier Forest Reserve in 1899, Crater Lake National Park from part of the Cascade Forest Reserve in 1902, Glacier National Park from part of the Blackfoot National Forest in 1910, Rocky Mountain National Park from parts of the Arapaho and Colorado National Forests in 1915, and Lassen Volcanic National Park from part of the Lassen National Forest in 1916. And more transfers were to follow.

Under the circumstances it seems safe to assume that at least a portion of the Forest Service's recreation interest in the second decade of this century resulted from the Service's hope of preventing the creation of (or limiting the growth of) a new parks bureau which had as a major announced purpose the development of recreation facili-

ties. Certainly the Columbia River Gorge Park can be viewed in this light. Agitation for a Mt. Hood National Park to compete for the tourist dollar with Washington's Mt. Rainier National Park was then common in the Portland area. The Forest Service's Columbia River Gorge Park, because it promised management of the Gorge area under then-current National Park policies, reduced this agitation.

This rivalry was also manifested in the Forest Service's attempt to limit support among various special interest groups for a new parks bureau. For example, the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) saw the new bureau as an opportunity to exercise additional professional influence on the parks, and when ASLA dedicated the April 1916 issue of its journal to the parks bureau campaign, Assistant Forester Edward A. Sherman succeeded in inserting an article into the issue entitled "The Forest Service and the Preservation of Natural Beauty." In this article he emphasized that ". . . in administering the National Forests, the interest of the public in the recreation resource involved—already of large importance, and destined to be of steadily increasing importance—must be taken account of and intelligently provided for . . ."[7] In the same issue another article, by Frederick Law Olmsted, clarified the distinction between National Forests and National Parks in terms that the Forest Service could support.

First Study of National Forest Recreation

Because of their role in the development of the Nation's urban parks, the various landscape architects comprising the ASLA looked upon themselves as the logical agents to develop professionally planned recreation facilities in the National Forests and Parks. As early as 1910 proposals for a parks bureau had included a role in the new agency for landscape architects. And by 1916 it had become apparent to the Forest Service that if it were to compete successfully with the newly created National Park Service in serving the public, it ultimately would have to develop professionally planned recreation facilities. Early in 1917 the Forest Service employed Frank A. Waugh, professor of Landscape Architecture at Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst (now called University of Massachusetts), to prepare a national study of recreation uses of the National Forests.

Waugh, working as a collaborator, spent 5 months in the field during 1917 working on his National Forest study. He visited forests in each of the seven National Forest districts of the country, paying special attention to areas where recreational activities had become most common. Out of his research came three published reports—*Recreation Uses on the National Forests, Landscape Engineering in the National Forests,* and *A Plan for the Development of the Village of Grand Canyon, Ariz.*

Recreation Uses on the National Forests constituted Waugh's main report on the status of recreation in Forest Service areas. The printed report, actually a condensed version of Waugh's longer and much more detailed typewritten report, began with a short summary of the types of facilities Waugh found in the forests. According to Waugh, publicly owned recreation developments in the National Forests consisted almost entirely of automobile camps and picnic grounds. Waugh reported that the Forest Service had developed a "large number" of automobile camps, but his definition of a campground required little more than the presence of a picnic table and a privy. Eagle Creek, in the Columbia River Gorge Park, stood as the best example of a well-developed camp and picnic facility. Waugh discussed the recreational values of roads and trails, but admitted that they were almost always constructed for administrative reasons. He then went on to discuss some of the various types of areas appropriate for recreational use. Certain parts of the Forests, he believed, would best be developed as scenic reservations, allowing no use that would significantly detract from the recreation values present. Interestingly, Waugh did not mention the Columbia River Gorge Park in this context, citing instead as examples the White Mountains of New Hampshire and Lake Chelan in the Cascade Mountains of Washington. He discussed briefly the recreation potential of the National Monuments under Forest Service control, explaining their status as scenic or scientific preserves. He gave special mention to Grand Canyon National Monument, admitting that it probably was of National Park quality. (It became a National Park and was transferred to the National Park Service in 1919. In 1916 the Southwestern District had put a deputy forest supervisor, T. Earl Wylder, in charge of the Monument, then a part of the old Tusayan National Forest. In 1920 the District put men in charge of the Walnut Canyon National Monument on the Coconino National Forest, Arizona, and the Bandelier National Monument on the Santa Fe National Forest, New Mexico. The Bandelier site and position were listed until October 1938, and the Walnut Canyon site and position until July 1934, in the Forest Service *Directories.*)

Continuing his summary of existing recreation uses, Waugh discussed the various types of facilities built on the National Forests under the Act of 1915. In the condensed report his examples included the summer campus of Fresno Normal School and the summer community of Cascada, Calif., both on the Sierra National Forest at Huntington Lake; the previously mentioned Seeley Creek Flats Camp of the city of Los Angeles, the summer cabin complexes on the Angeles, and a large mountain tract between San Diego and the Imperial Valley on the Cleveland National Forest.[8] He noted that "several hundred" small colonies of individually-owned summer cabins existed throughout the National Forests, in addition to

"fraternal camps, sanatoria", and commercial summer resorts.

Waugh envisioned his role not only as a reporter of existing recreation conditions, but also as an advocate of future directions. Several pages of the report were given over to an exploration of the cash value of forest recreation. Waugh concluded that forest recreation must be worth at least as much as casual urban recreation in the form of movies or magazines, a cost he calculated to be not less than 10 cents per hour. Working from his figures and from the first crude recreation use figures collected during the summer of 1916, he calculated a recreation return of $7,500,000 annually on National Forest lands.

Continuing his justification, he argued that forest recreation, in light of its large value to the American people, must be considered one of the major uses of the National Forests, equal in importance to timber harvesting, watershed protection, or grazing. Then, finally reaching the heart of his argument, he made his case for the necessity of continued Forest Service recreation development separate from that of the National Park Service. Admitting the existence of areas clearly of National Park status, Waugh contended that forest recreation potential was not limited to those areas. As he conceived it, nearly all National Forest lands had potential for public recreational use. Under these circumstances it would be impossible for one agency to manage all recreation development while another looked after other resource management problems. Either the Forest Service and the National Park Service would have to merge, or each would have to develop its own recreation program. Obviously the latter was preferable.

Role of "Landscape Engineers"

Concluding his report, Waugh proceeded from the necessity of a Forest Service recreation program to the need for trained, professional personnel within that program. Not surprisingly, Waugh, a professor of landscape architecture, saw the function of recreation planning and development as the province of the "landscape engineer," as the Federal Government termed landscape architects at that time. Remarking that "It has always been the policy of the Forest Service to employ men of special technical ability on the numerous problems arising in the management of the Forests. . . ." Waugh made his case that landscape engineers were just as necessary to the proper development of the National Forests as foresters.

Rather than dedicate a large section of his "Recreation Uses" pamphlet to landscape engineering, Waugh produced the separate report mentioned above. Here Waugh combined additional subtle discussions of the basic need for technical talents with suggestions for the application of those talents to the problems of the Forests. Reflecting the philosophical outlook of his time, which could not conceive of intensive Forest Service recreation development, Waugh dedicated much of his discussion to the role landscape engineers could play in the design of summer cabin areas and other facilities to be financed by private capital. He also suggested ways that administrative trails, built to allow access by forest personnel, could be endowed with higher recreation values, and how ranger stations and other Forest Service administrative sites could be beautified.

Waugh's third report, the plan for the village of Grand Canyon, was his model of a landscape engineer's solution to a specific problem. The problem was how to guide the growing tourist facility development at the South Rim of the Grand Canyon. The site was a part of Grand Canyon National Monument, until mid-1919 administered by the Forest Service. The problem was directly related to recreational use. Waugh drew a site plan and offered a general philosophy for development.

Waugh's several reports bore fruit in a number of ways. His sympathetic understanding of the management problems of the National Forests, and the role of recreation as one of several important forest uses, gained him a continuing role as a landscape collaborator with the Forest Service long after he concluded his initial project. As late as the middle years of the New Deal, Waugh continued to provide advice to the Service. And more immediately, Waugh's suggestion that the Forest Service employ landscape engineers took hold in the Assistant Forester for Lands, Edward A. Sherman. As soon as World War I ended, Sherman decided, the Forest Service would hire a landscape engineer and see what he could do.

PART II—Campground Improvement Moves Slowly, 1919–32

The end of World War I in November 1918 allowed Sherman to address the question of hiring a landscape engineer for the Forest Service. He had received a list of eligible specialists from the Civil Service Commission, and already had discussed the idea with several of the Forest Service District Foresters, later called Regional Foresters. At least two Districts, the California and the Rocky Mountain, had expressed an interest in participating in the experiment. During the winter of 1918–19 Sherman's interest, the District Foresters' willingness, and a young Iowa-trained landscape architect just married and leaving the Army, all came together to begin recreation site planning in the Forest Service.

> As a young job hunter, I sought out the 1918 National Headquarters of the Park Service and requested an interview with Stephen T. Mather, Chief . . . Mr. Mather was not in Washington so I talked to his assistant. I cannot guarantee these were the exact words but they are very near verbatim. He said, "We already have a landscape architect. I doubt that we need another. . . ." Then he said, "The U.S. Forest Service is showing some interest in your type of work. Perhaps you can find employment there." He told me the location of the National Forest Service Offices and directed me to ask for Associate Chief Forester, Mr. E. A. Sherman.

First Landscape Engineer is Hired

Arthur H. Carhart, the young job hunter, had taken a degree in landscape architecture at Iowa State College in 1916 under Frank H. Culley. In fact, he was Culley's first graduate. Culley had been a strong supporter of the parks bureau campaign, and it was he who advised Carhart in 1918, as Carhart prepared to leave the Army, to seek employment with the Park Service. The timely suggestion of the Park Service official to seek work with the Forest Service led Carhart to Sherman's office in December, just as Sherman prepared to seek a candidate for his recreation engineering experiment. Coincidentally both were natives of Iowa and graduates of Iowa State College (now called Iowa State University).

Carhart's interview with Sherman went well. Sherman explained that at least two Districts (Regions) were considering the employment of a landscape architect in the newly created position of landscape engineer. Sherman suggested that whichever District came up with the funds first could hire Carhart. Two weeks later Carhart learned that the Rocky Mountain District, headquartered in Denver, had obtained funds. The District decided to hire him, at first on a temporary basis, and on March 1, 1919, he reported for duty. Sherman's experiment in professional recreation planning could now begin. At the same time the North Pacific District made Fred Cleator, a forester, its recreation specialist, as mentioned earlier.

After spending several weeks in the District office at Denver, Carhart began his first field work with the Forest Service in April 1919 when he designed a foot trail for tourist use on Pikes Peak. The following month he traveled to the San Isabel National Forest in south-central Colorado to begin work on a preliminary recreation plan for that Forest.[9]

The recreation problems of the San Isabel resembled those of many other National Forests at that time. Although not located in a heavily populated area, the San Isabel was close enough to the small industrial city of Pueblo to attract considerable recreational use. In 1918 the Commerce Club of Pueblo had petitioned the Supervisor of the Forest to build camp and picnic areas in the Wet Mountains area west of the city. Supervisor Albin G. Hamel had admitted the need for such facilities but pointed out the unavailability of funds. Congress had appropriated no funds for Forest Service recreation, he had told them. Turning to its own resources, the Commerce Club raised $1,200, and in cooperation with the City of Pueblo erected 3 toilets, 10 fireplaces, and 2 shelters in the Squirrel Creek Canyon, 30 miles from town. The public responded enthusiastically by heavily patronizing the facilities.

Nearly a year later Carhart arrived on the scene, and he quickly noted the interest the communities in the vicinity of the San Isabel had in its recreation potential. During his initial inspection of the Forest, Carhart visited a number of potential high-quality sites and prepared a preliminary report suggesting a recreation development outline. Then he moved on to other duties that kept him busy for the remainder of the summer. During July and August he made an extended orientation tour of the National Forests of Colorado, Wyoming, South Dakota, and Minnesota, all then part of the Rocky Mountain District.

Early Plans and Local Help on the San Isabel

During the following winter Carhart again turned to the problem of recreation planning and development on the San Isabel. As he studied the recreation problems of the Rocky Mountain District during his summer tour, Carhart realized that recreation planning for the National Forests inevitably would have to pass beyond the construction of single campgrounds to comprehensive, general planning. The San Isabel and the Superior National Forests presented the most immediate recreation problems and opportunities in the Rocky Mountain District. One or the other would be a good place to try out the first general recreation plan. By late 1919 Carhart had begun work on such a plan for the San Isabel.

Doubtlessly one of Carhart's reasons for going ahead with the San Isabel plan was the announcement late in November 1919 of the formation of the San Isabel Public Recreation Association. An outgrowth of the Pueblo Commerce Club's recreation fund-raising work of 1918, the new Association received strong support from

Carhart and from Forest Supervisor Hamel. Both undoubtedly saw the group as a potential source of funds and support for the San Isabel recreation program.

By the beginning of the summer of 1920 the Association had raised nearly $6,000 to be used to further the recreation development of the San Isabel. The Association, working closely with the Forest Service, carefully followed Carhart's newly completed general recreation plan for the Forest, which called for an extensive system of campgrounds, picnic grounds, roads, and trails. And Carhart's guidance went beyond his development outline, for he had in mind not only where recreation facilities should be built, but how. It was obvious to him that such work could best be done under the supervision of a resident landscape architect. Carhart recommended Frank H. Culley, his Iowa State College professor, to the Association to supervise the actual work. By mid-summer Culley and a crew of four or five young men were well along with their work on several campgrounds and a recreational trail. As Robert Cermak remarked in his short history of the early San Isabel recreation program, "These campgrounds may have been the first designed and built by a landscape architect in the national forests."[10]

The successful collaboration between the San Isabel National Forest and the San Isabel Public Recreation Association continued until the Great Depression sapped the association's energy. As Carhart intended, the relationship served as a model for other communities that

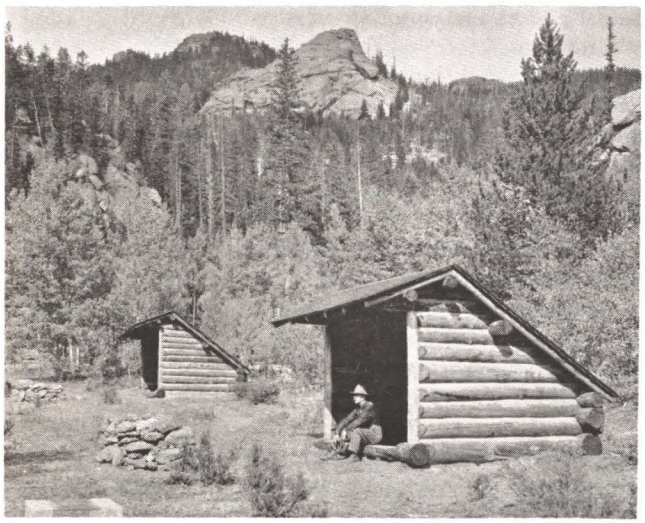

Figure 8.—*These Adirondack-style log shelters were installed at Beaver Meadow campground, Pike National Forest, Colo., in 1917, and elsewhere later. Simple lean-to trail shelters were in use on National Forests in Oregon and Washington by 1916. Note loose stone warming fireplaces in front, and low metal cooking grills embedded in concrete sides.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-35822A)

Figure 9.—*Simple picnic ground shelter with central stone masonry fireplace, built with funds raised by residents of Pueblo, Colo., on Squirrel Creek, San Isabel National Forest, in 1918, for use of general public.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-176591)

Figure 10.—*Rest cabin on trail to Mt. Evans, Pike National Forest, Colo., built several years before photo was taken in 1921. At right is Arthur H. Carhart, first recreation engineer in the Forest Service.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-159392)

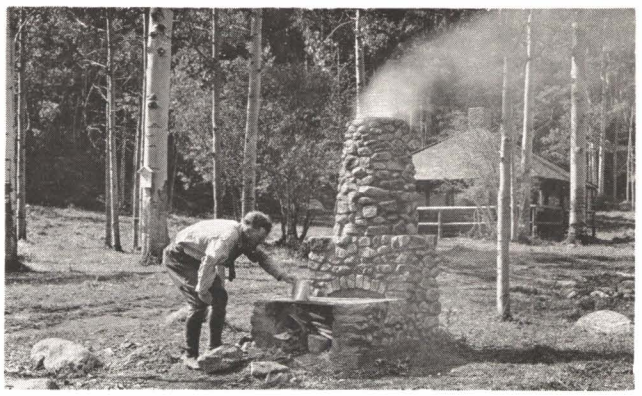

Figure 11.—*Stone masonry fireplace with fixed metal cooking lid. Picnic shelter with central fireplace in background. Ophir Creek campground, San Isabel National Forest, near Wetmore, Colo., 1925.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-200990)

Figure 12.—*Pueblo Community House, Squirrel Creek campground, San Isabel National Forest, Colo., 1925. Built by San Isabel Public Recreation Association.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-200992)

were interested in developing local recreation facilities on National Forest lands. Before the end of 1920, similar organizations existed in southwestern Colorado and northern Minnesota. The cooperating recreation association movement eventually produced a significant number of National Forest recreation areas at a time when the Forest Service did not choose to or could not expend much of its regular appropriation on such work.

During 1919 and 1920 Carhart did much more than develop his recreation plans for the San Isabel. In fact his other activities, including work at Trappers Lake, Colorado, and on the Superior National Forest, Minnesota, are much better remembered, for it was in these areas that Carhart helped develop the idea of wilderness or very limited recreational development in superb natural environments, excluding cars and summer homes, as a recreational design choice. A bitter dispute among local recreational, water development, and mineral development interests developed in Minnesota. One result was a landmark policy statement on wilderness from Secretary of Agriculture William M. Jardine in September 1926. It pledged 1,000 square miles of wilderness in the Superior National Forest, forerunner of the Boundary Waters Canoe Area. These matters are, however, beyond the scope of this study and are well covered by other historians.[11] In terms of the history of the Forest Service recreation planning and development, Carhart's most significant contributions were his recreation plan model and the cooperating association concept.

During the summer of 1920 Leon F. Kneipp, who had succeeded Sherman as Assistant Forester in charge of the Lands Division of the Forest Service, watched the Rocky Mountain District's recreation engineering experiment with considerable interest. By fall, convinced that important progress had occurred, he asked Sherman and Chief Forester William B. Greeley to seek a fund of $50,000 for recreation work in the National Forests during fiscal year 1922. Kneipp obviously hoped that he would be able to obtain the approval of this relatively small appropriation, and thus set a precedent for large sums in the future. Sherman and Greeley supported Kneipp's request, as did the Secretary of Agriculture. Greeley's annual report, dated October 4, 1920, stated that "To bring about the fullest use of the National Forests and contribute their proper quota to the Nation's health, there is needed a special fund of $50,000 for recreational development. This will permit the employment of several trained landscape engineers, more rapid and at the same time more careful development, the improvement of additional camp grounds and provision of other public facilities and conveniences, and enlarged cooperation with local communities"[12] The money was not forthcoming, however.

As a part of the planning for the Forest Service's proposed recreation program, each of the District Foresters received a circular letter from Greeley in the fall of 1920 inquiring about their plans for the use of recreation engineers. Only the Rocky Mountain District could respond that it already had such a position, and it asked for three to five more such men for fiscal year 1922. District Forester Allen S. Peck reported that so far Carhart had been very helpful. However, Louis A. Barrett, assistant California District Forester for Lands, reported no need for a recreation engineer. After having considered hiring Carhart in 1918, the district now felt that the limited funds available for recreation development should be used for actual construction of needed facilities. Barrett asserted that the California District's mineral examiner, W. H. Friedhoff, could adequately handle the anticipated problems of recreation design and administration. North Pacific District Forester, George H. Cecil, replied that while recreation engineers might be useful under some circumstances, his District did not require such services, since Fred W. Cleator, forest supervisor for land classification of the Portland office staff, could take care of the needed work. Cecil also expressed the fear that problems might develop if landscape architects were used to design forest recreation facilities, since the designers would not fully understand the workings and priorities of the Forest Service.[13]

Congress Denies Request for $50,000

While Greeley, Sherman, and Kneipp pondered the future of recreation development in the Forest Service, the group that potentially had the most to gain, the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA), did what it could to encourage the use of landscape architects by the Service. First the ASLA enlarged the duties of its standing committee on National Parks, a body that had both monitored the quality of landscape work in the

Parks and encouraged the utilization of landscape skills, so that the committee henceforth would give attention to both National Parks and Forests. Soon thereafter, the organization passed a resolution commending the Forest Service for hiring a landscape architect, and offering its assistance to the Service to facilitate the full development of a recreation planning and development program based on landscape architecture skills. It also urgently requested the House Appropriations Committee to retain the recreation fund.[14] Unfortunately, it took more than the support of the ASLA to convince Congress that the Forest Service needed special funds for recreation development. The proposal for a $50,000 recreation appropriation for fiscal year 1922 failed in Congress. In March 1921 Chief Forester Greeley wrote each of the District Foresters informing them that although recreation remained a high priority of the Service, progress in that area would be minimal until Congress saw fit to pay for it. At the end of May, Greeley made an appeal to Representative Harold Knutson for funds "to provide simple facilities at the more generally used camping places for (a) the building of camp fires under conditions that will be absolutely safe for inexperienced campers, and (b) to construct sanitary conveniences in the interests of decency and the protection of public health."[15]

The reluctance of Congress to provide recreation planning and development funds to the Forest Service resulted, at least in part, from the still undefined nature of the relationship between the Forest Service and the National Park Service. Despite the fact that Waugh, in his 1918 report, had justified to the satisfaction of the Forest Service the necessity of two, separate, Federal outdoor recreation programs, the Park Service remained unconvinced. This lack of agreement became clear to all concerned in January 1921, when the First National Conference on State Parks met in Des Moines, Iowa. Both Park Service Director Stephen Mather and Carhart attended, and when Carhart advanced a few ideas before one of the sessions on the necessity of National Forest recreation development, Mather felt required to reply by challenging the whole concept of Forest Service expenditures for recreation. The lurid publicity that followed the confrontation did little to help either agency in its quest for appropriations, and it definitely hurt the Forest Service recreation program.[16]

Undoubtedly disappointed by Congress' decision not to provide funds, Carhart, still the sole Forest Service practitioner of his profession, spent most of the summer of 1921 studying the recreation problems of the northern Minnesota lakes region now known as the Boundary Waters Canoe Area. That fall and winter he prepared a detailed report and a comprehensive recreational development plan for this unique region, then called the Border Lakes area, which minimized roads and stressed water transportation.[17] Perhaps Congress would be more generous for fiscal year 1923, he hoped.

Early in 1922 Carhart put forth his requests for fiscal year 1923. Determined to move his work forward, he requested $45,000 for recreation work in the Rocky Mountain District alone. This was rather unrealistic in light of the recent denial of $50,000 for the whole Forest Service. Optimistic that this time the money would start to flow, however, Carhart kept his eyes open for possible additions to his staff. In May he wrote his superiors that Frank Culley intended to sever his ties with Iowa State College and was looking for recreation employment with a public agency. Here he saw a chance to pick up a good man. Assistant Forester Kneipp's reply did little to encourage Carhart, however:

> At this present state the employment of two highly qualified Recreation Engineers in District 2 can hardly be considered, and no other District has expressed a desire or a willingness to take on a man of such qualifications. . . . We have canvassed them several times during the past two years always with the same result.

In that same month, Professor James S. Pray, head of Harvard University's School of Landscape Architecture and an ASLA trustee, wrote to Chief Greeley and Associate Forester Sherman to stress the Forest Service's need for experienced landscape architects to plan the rapidly growing public use of the National Forests for recreation.

Forest Service Gets $10,000 for Recreation

Sherman, in his reply to Pray, agreed on the need for "trained recreational engineers," and said that "a half dozen such men would be sufficient for some years to come." However, he pointed out that "There are many lines of Forest Service work in which the personnel is inadequate. . . ." Sherman explained that "For the coming years (Congress) has allowed with great reluctance a small sum [$10,000] to cover the cost of installing toilets, fireplaces, and other simple facilities required by recreationists, but in doing so it based its action on protective grounds, that is, fire prevention and the preservation of good sanitary conditions, not upon recreational gounds."[18]

Nevertheless Carhart remained optimistic until he received his budget information for the new fiscal year beginning July 1. His $45,000 request had been reduced to $900, for sanitary facilities. Soon after receiving the bad news, Carhart addressed a "personal" critical letter to Associate Forester Sherman expressing his disappointment at the progress made in recreation work since 1919. No new personnel had been added; funding remained "totally inadequate". Perhaps, he suggested testily, if the Forest Service did not mean to do a good job of recreation development, it should abandon the field altogether.

First Landscape Engineer Resigns

In a long and patient reply, Sherman explained the serious obstacles encountered in Congress to the agency's total recreation fund request for $40,000, but stressed the great significance of its approval of $10,000 for sanitary and fire protection related to recreation, since this meant Congressional recognition of recreation use, the necessity for regulating that use, and responsibility to fund such regulation. He emphasized that recreation was just one part of the Forest Service, and that "Congress is the boss". Carhart didn't think the Forest Service had tried hard enough and asked for a stop to "all ill-advised recreational development.[19] Within a few weeks he made up his mind to leave the Forest Service. After reaching an agreement with Frank Culley and Denver landscape architect I. J. McCrary, Carhart resigned effective December 31, 1922, and joined the new landscape firm of McCrary, Culley and Carhart.[20]

Carhart's resignation vacated the single position in the Forest Service dedicated wholly to recreation and brought the matters of recreation personnel and administration policy under review. In a March 1923 memorandum to Chief Forester Greeley, Kneipp discussed the three-year-long recreation engineering experiment. Carhart's position had been set up as a model; Kneipp and Sherman had intended that eventually each District would have a similar position. The Rocky Mountain District's experience, however, had not been entirely as expected.

> The results have been in part good and in part unsatisfactory. One basic difficulty is that a man who has attained the qualifications of a recreation engineer has progressed so far in the techniques of his profession that it is difficult to imbue him with the Forest Service point of view or to secure from him adequate recognition of problems other than recreation.

Several years later Kneipp expressed his disappointment with Carhart's performance more bluntly: Carhart, Kneipp wrote, never

> saw his job or his opportunity in its true proportions or its proper administrative and financial relationship to other activities, hence did not develop the practical balance in planning that is essential to successful accomplishment. Carhart's plans were overrefined, inordinately expensive of execution and unnecessarily idealistic. As a result there is still somewhat of an adverse reaction against specialists in the field.

The Rocky Mountain District replaced Carhart in the spring of 1923 with another Iowa State College landscape architect, Ingwald S. Horgan, but Horgan remained in the position only a short time. Apparently he had no more success fitting into the forest management program than had Carhart. Horgan went on to become superintendent of the Marathon County parks system at Wausau, Wis.

Even before the Rocky Mountain District hired Horgan, it had begun to search for ways of obtaining recreation personnel who would understand the larger needs of the Forest Service program. One suggestion considered was to hire landscape architects as "recreation assistants" instead of as recreation engineers and to start them out working under a National Forest supervisor. Then, if they showed a proper understanding of the program involved, they might be promoted to recreation engineering status and assigned to a district office.[21] But a much simpler solution soon presented itself—to turn recreation planning responsibilities over to trained foresters, thus avoiding completely the landscape architecture profession and its attitudes.

Foresters and Collaborators Take Over

The Forest Service's abandonment of the use of in-house landscape architects to plan recreational developments in the middle 1920's returned the responsibilities for such activities to two other groups—foresters and collaborators. For nearly a decade following Carhart's resignation these two groups handled all Forest Service recreation problems. Most of the responsibility fell to the foresters, who assumed responsibility for the design, construction, and administration of recreation sites. In most cases the task was not unduly difficult, since the continued shortage of recreation funds kept most development simple. For fiscal year 1924 the recreation budget was $20,000.[22] And generally the foresters preferred small, simple camping and picnicking areas, as these tended to interfere less with other forestry activities than major, permanent facilities. In those occasional cases where recreation problems reached a level of complexity beyond the capabilities of the foresters, the Forest Service called on collaborators from the landscape architect profession. Among these Frank Waugh remained preeminent.

Through the 1920's Waugh maintained a close relationship with the Forest Service, providing requested advice and direction in recreation matters. During the summer of 1920, for example, he visited the Mt. Hood region of the Oregon National Forest and prepared a report, "Recreation Uses of the Mt. Hood Area." The report did not attempt to propose a specific development plan for the region, but rather explained in a general way the recreation resources of the area and then-present and future recreation uses. Two years later, during July and August 1922, Waugh visited the National Forests of Utah, studying recreation problems and giving special attention to the Bryce Canyon National Monument and the Cedar Breaks area of the Dixie National Forest, which Waugh felt also merited national monument status. When Carhart announced his intention of resigning, it was Waugh who took up with Sherman the future of the program. The following summer Waugh advised the Forest Service in California and then returned to Utah to

give additional attention to Bryce Canyon. During the next few years Waugh's contributions to the Forest Service lessened, a symptom of the low levels of Forest Service recreation development activity. In 1924 Sherman could find no problem of sufficient importance to warrant Waugh's use. And in 1925 all Sherman could find for Waugh to consider was the possible development of a general recreation plan for the Angeles National Forest.[23]

Another landscape architect and would-be collaborator whose name appears in the recreation files of the 1920's was H. R. Francis of Syracuse, N.Y. A student of Waugh at Massachusetts Agricultural College, Francis had, by 1919, obtained a position on the faculty of the New York State College of Forestry at Syracuse University. There he developed a general course for forestry students in the basic concepts and requirements of forest recreation. Major topics in the course outline included: "Social Significance of Recreation," "Recreational Activities in . . . Forest Areas," and "Facilities for Recreation Uses of Public Forests." Francis's hope of turning foresters into capable part-time recreational planners met with the full support of the Forest Service. The whole Forest Service experience with recreation engineers pointed to this sort of training as a better method of meeting the needs of the Service. Even before the failure of the Carhart experiment, Sherman stated the situation to Francis in a succinct manner:

> The Forest Service . . . will need a lot of foresters who will have some training in recreation engineering, and we will need a few recreation engineers who in turn will have to become foresters in fact and viewpoint in order to best serve our forests.

He also said that, "while most of their (the Districts') work in recreational development will be done by foresters, most of the Districts now look forward to the time when they will have at least one man whose basic training will be that of a landscape engineer or its substantial equivalent."[24]

First Funds for Campground Development

Between 1923 and 1933, foresters, whether academically trained in recreation work or not, carried out the Forest Service recreation program. Ironically, these foresters, and not Carhart, received the first Congressional appropriations for Forest Service recreation development, except for funds provided earlier for simple sanitary facilities and to prevent the spread of fire. In fiscal year 1925, the budget contained a special item of $37,631, the first specifically for campground development. This figure grew slowly, reaching $52,050 by 1930. These sums did not go far to meet the needs of the 150 National Forests, yet the nature of the facilities contemplated was so simple that in 1925 Chief Forester Greeley reported that the average cost of improving a campground was only about $200. In that year there were some 1,500 campgrounds in the National Forests. Only one third of these, however, contained even the most basic facilities. Greeley estimated that the 1,000 undeveloped campgrounds could be brought up to standard for less than $250,000. By 1930 Chief Forester Robert Y. Stuart reported that the number of fully or partially developed campsites had risen to 1,493, about the total number of developed and undeveloped sites given in 1925. To develop these facilities the Government had expended a total of $329,922, including $48,642 in the form of donated cash or labor. Superficially, the progress made since 1925 appeared excellent. But Stuart also reported that National Forest recreational use had risen 38 percent during the preceding year.[25]

Little Supervision from Washington

The campground development program of the middle and late 1920's went on with little supervision from the Washington Office. Between April 1923 and October 1926 the *Forest Service Directory,* which listed all important Service personnel, included no offices or positions at the District headquarters level mentioning recreation. In the fall of 1926, W. H. Friedhoff, whose job title was still mineral examiner for the California District, had his listed areas of responsibility changed; recreation was substituted for land classification, while mineral examination and land entry survey work continued to be his other duties. Friedhoff was then the only man on a District headquarters staff listed in the *Directories* with recreation responsibilities, until early in 1932 when "recreation" reappeared, as Fred W. Cleator's sole area of responsibility, in the Portland (North Pacific) Regional office. (The "Districts" were retitled "Regions" in 1930.) As we have seen, both Cleator and Friedhoff had recreation responsibilities, respectively, by 1919 and 1920, along with other duties, and Friedhoff probably had recreation work to do even earlier. Both undoubtedly continued to deal with recreation even when it was not listed as part of their work.

West Coast Forest Service personnel on the Forest level were beginning to specialize in recreation work in the 1920's. The April 1921 *Directory* lists Albert Wiesendanger, a forester, in charge of the Eagle Creek Camp Grounds at Cascade Locks, Ore., renamed "Forest Camp" in 1925. He remained in charge until 1930, returned to that post in 1939, and in 1941 was put in charge of Timberline Lodge. In April 1927, Francis E. Williamson Jr., formerly listed as a ranger in the Mt. Hood National Forest supervisor's office, appears as a "recreation assistant." In 1932 he was put in charge of "Recreation and Uses" for the Forest, remaining there until January 1939, when he became the first recreation specialist for the Snoqualmie National Forest at Seattle, Wash.

For the California District, the April and October 1923 *Directories* show H. H. Simpson in charge of recreation survey and range reconnaissance work on the Inyo National Forest on the east slope, Sierra Mountains, southern California. They also show L. H. Anderson as a ranger in charge of special uses, which include recreation, on the San Bernardino Ranger District (which was made a separate Forest in 1925). Anderson was succeeded in April 1924 by H. H. Hunt, also a ranger, whose duties were renamed "recreation and surveys" in 1929 and assigned to F. A. Robinson, an assistant supervisor, in 1931.[26]

First Mt. Hood Plan

It is symptomatic of the status of Forest Service recreation development in the middle and late 1920's, that except for the Boundary Waters area, the most noteworthy controversy regarding National Forest recreation centered around the proposed development of a privately financed resort and tramway on Mt. Hood and not around one of the Service's own proposals. The latter usually were much too small to create much opposition.

The Mt. Hood hotel and tramway controversy of 1927–31 demonstrated the increasing complexity of the recreation problems facing the Forest Service even at a time when the Service was attempting to solve its recreation problems simply by building $200 campgrounds. As early as 1921 the Forest Service had been aware of plans for the construction of a modern resort hotel in the vicinity of Mt. Hood. In 1926 Cleator and Williamson made several trips to the upper south slope, and Williamson drew up a recreational plan and drawings for the site, including a lodge at timber line, and ski club and mountain climbing club chalets. The same year the Cascade Development Company of Portland submitted a firm proposal, not only for a hotel, but also for a tramway to the top of the 11,000-foot summit of the peak. No one opposed the construction of a new hotel on the shoulder of the mountain, but the tramway proposal drew considerable opposition. In the spring of 1927 Chief Forester Greeley chaired a public hearing on the subject in Portland and heard from both sides. Greeley sympathized with those who would leave the mountain unscarred and rejected the application for a use permit. The Cascade Development Company appealed Greeley's negative decision to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Secretary William M. Jardine sensed the complexity of the issue, and attempted to cool the rising passions on both sides by calling for a study of the entire recreation situation at Mt. Hood, including the tramway/hotel proposal. The resulting Mt. Hood committee, composed of a wide variety of professions and talents, and chaired by Julius L. Meier of Portland, made its report to the Secretary in August 1928. The report sketched out a scheme for developing the recreation potential of the mountain and its immediate surroundings. It called for the construction of the tramway as well as the development of additional publicly financed trails, campgrounds, and shelters.[27] Still concerned that all parts of the difficult questions had not been fully explored, Secretary Jardine again delayed his decision on the hotel/tramway permit after he received the report of the Mt. Hood committee. For additional advice he called upon Frank Waugh, Frederick Law Olmsted, the prominent landscape architect, and John C. Merriam, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Waugh, Olmsted, and Merriam met in Portland in August 1929, and initiated their own on-the-ground study of the area. Their report, received by the Secretary early in 1930, evaluated the tramway/hotel proposal as well as the other recreation problems of the Mt. Hood area. The three could not agree on the tramway. Waugh supported its construction while Olmsted and Merriam were opposed. In May 1930, after studying the new report, Secretary Arthur M. Hyde, Jardine's successor, instructed the Forest Service to issue a special use permit to Cascade Development. But the hotel and tramway were never built. (It turned out that the company had never had sufficient financial backing to build the project in the first place.) The manner in which the Forest Service reached its conclusions during the controversy demonstrated, however, the necessity of obtaining professional guidance in such matters.[28]

The Forest Service could not escape the need for professional recreation personnel. Inevitably, each year the Service found itself deeper in the recreation business. During the fall of 1930 Kneipp carried on a correspondence with Frank Waugh and H. R. Francis regarding the future of technical recreation personnel in the Service. Kneipp expressed a preference, where special recreation skills were needed, to use men "trained in the fundamentals of national forest administration," giving them additional training necessary to face their new responsibilities. Waugh responded cautiously, pointing out the benefits of having a trained landscape man in the Washington Office to oversee the program. Francis, as might be expected, agreed with Kneipp's ideas. His forest recreation course for forestry students prepared just the sort of men Kneipp seemed to be looking for.

Kneipp's attitudes found easy acceptance within the Service. Two months after he wrote Waugh and Francis, Kneipp told Allen S. Peck, the Rocky Mountain Regional Forester, that Chief Forester Stuart had noted the need for more detailed technical treatment of recreation problems and felt that the best solution for these problems inevitably would come from men trained in forest management, and not from landscape architects. Kneipp particularly mentioned Francis's program at Syracuse and suggested that the Region should attempt to utilize men who had taken Francis's course in its recreation work.

Superficially the recreation development program of the Forest Service during the summer of 1931 went on as usual. The campground construction program continued, and Frank Waugh made yet another one of his summer studies; his report was entitled "Recreational Uses on the National Forests of the Rocky Mountain Region."[29] But behind the scenes Kneipp gave considerable thought to the problem of technical recreation personnel for the Service. By fall, discussion of his proposal extended beyond the Forest Service. Kneipp's plan called for two new Congressional appropriations for the Forest Service—one supporting the employment of technical personnel and the other doubling the current size of the campground development program. Kneipp envisioned at least three technically trained men working solely in the recreation field. One, in Washington, would "supervise the classification, conservation, and development of National Forest areas of outstanding public importance for recreational use. . . ." The other two would be assigned to individual Regions much as Carhart had been a decade earlier. By speeding up the campground development program, Kneipp hoped to catch up with demand in 3 or 4 years instead of the planned ten.[30] Presumably, Kneipp hoped to develop these new technical personnel from the foresters' ranks.

Depression Slows Campground Program

However, the Great Depression was forcing economies in public spending, and Congress did not see fit to enact Kneipp's plans. Appropriations for campground development for the next (1932–33) fiscal year were cut 25 percent instead of being increased 100 percent. Nevertheless, the need for technical personnel remained very pressing. During the summer of 1932 Kneipp surveyed the status of recreation work in the six western Regions of the Service and presented a summary to Chief Stuart. Kneipp said all six Regions admitted the potential value of trained technical personnel, but belief was still widespread that men trained in landscape architecture seldom understood the broader problems of forest management. Only the Northern, California, and North Pacific Regions identified any personnel with recreation duties.

In California, junior forester James N. Gibson, a graduate of Francis's recreation course at Syracuse, serving on the supervisor's staff, Angeles National Forest, after a stint in public relations in the Regional Office, had been temporarily assigned to oversee recreation work on the Cleveland National Forest. He apparently had been doing such work and continued to do it afterward on the Angeles until assigned in 1935 to the Regional Office as a "recreation and use" specialist. The Northern Region had put Victor T. Linthacum, a forester, in charge of recreation. The other western Regions either reported too little recreation activity to warrant special personnel or a determination to develop their own forester-recreationists. Allen Peck was still distressed over the Carhart and Horgan episodes.

A policy statement issued by Chief Stuart in the fall of 1932 reflected the situation, reaffirming that responsibility for recreation planning still rested entirely with Regional Foresters and Forest supervisors.

The California Region had recently engaged Dr. E. P. Meinecke, forest pathologist, USDA Bureau of Plant Industry, as a consultant on public camp and picnic site layout and use. He submitted his report in 1932, recommending roads and trails with log rails and barriers to control auto and foot traffic, and stationary fireplaces and tables to protect vegetation and site appearance. His recommendations were approved by the Region and issued to field personnel.[31]

Throughout the decade following the resignation of Carhart, the Forest Service pursued a cautious conservative recreation site development policy. Generally, that policy held that the recreational role of the National Forests was to provide *space* for recreation. Publicly financed recreation *facilities* in these forest areas remained limited in number and usually simple in nature. The needs of the public for more elaborate developments were to be met by privately financed resorts or by summer cabin areas located on Forest Service lands under the Term Occupancy Act. This policy of limited Federal development of National Forest recreation sites fit both the philosophical outlook of the forest managers and the budgetary goals of the Coolidge and Hoover administrations and of Congress.

PART III—The New Deal Boom in Recreation Development, 1933–42

The modest level of National Forest recreation development which persisted through the 1920's and early 1930's ended with the election of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. A decade of frenzied activity got underway that was checked only by World War II. During the height of the New Deal, the Forest Service received recreation funds and support far beyond its wildest dreams of earlier years. The tight limits that had so long constrained the Forest Service recreation program disappeared so completely that the resulting new wave of recreation development overwhelmed the work done before 1933. And, as might be expected, these changes in the magnitude and scope of the Forest Service recreation program resulted inevitably in significant and far reaching changes in its recreation policy.

A CCC "Forestry Army" is Raised

Within a month of Roosevelt's victory in the November 1932 election and 3 months before he took office, the Forest Service received rumors of a "forestry army" to be drawn from the enlarged numbers of unemployed young men. On December 9, 1932, Chief Robert Stuart quietly notified the Regional Foresters that they might soon be called upon to employ for public service purposes as many as 250,000 men. Roosevelt assumed the Presidency March 4, 1933, and within a few days announced plans for creation of a "conservation army." Among the rush of special legislation enacted to cope with the severe national economic crisis was authorization and funds for public works in forest, water and soil conservation, approved on March 31. On April 5, Roosevelt issued an Executive Order (6101) creating the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) program to carry out the activities specified in the Act of March 31. And, "On April 17 the Civilian Conservation Corps [CCC] was organized and the first 200 men were enrolled and sent to camp." (This was Camp Roosevelt on the George Washington National Forest in northern Virginia's Shenandoah Mountains, not far from the Nation's Capital.) By July almost 300,000 men had been enrolled, three-quarters of them working in forestry camps supervised by the Forest Service.

The ECW and CCC arrived on the scene so rapidly that, at first, the focus was ill-defined. Roosevelt at first saw the CCC primarily as a forestry organization—fighting fires, planting trees, thinning timber stands, stopping soil erosion and floods—but the field personnel of the State and Federal agencies involved soon realized that CCC labor might also be directed toward the construction of forest improvements—particularly roads, trails, buildings, and recreation sites.

Times were hard in the spring of 1933. Numerous groups sought solutions to their employment problems in the new program. The ASLA, for example, wrote to Chief Stuart only a few days after the ECW program appeared, obviously hoping to place unemployed landscape architects into it. Stuart answered that the role of landscape architects in the Forest Service part of the CCC program had not yet been defined.

As camps took form across the country, their Forest Service administrators questioned the Washington Office, seeking clarification of the use of enrollees. Could the enrollees be used to build recreation sites, for example? By early July, Kneipp and the Forest Service's CCC administrator, Christopher M. Granger, concluded that only the simplest sorts of recreation facilities could legally be built using CCC labor and funds. Flush toilets, for example, would not be a proper use.[32]

The National Industrial Recovery Act of June 16, 1933, through its provisions for public works spending, provided yet another opportunity to the Forest Service. Public works allotments under the new program in 1933 amounted to almost $16,000,000 for "permanent improvements" alone. Additional accounts totalling $25,000,000 provided funds for building highways, roads, and trails.[33] In terms of recreation development, the initial response of the Washington Office to the 1933 public works program followed the model set with the CCC program. Recreation facilities built by the Forest Service were to be inexpensive and simple.

Kneipp recognized early that an enlarged program of recreation development, even if centered on simple projects, would require increased direction from Washington. So while the CCC came to life and the public works program began its grants, Kneipp worked on plans for the creation of a central Forest Service recreation office. Writing to Stuart about the problems of choosing a man to head recreation work in the Service, Kneipp wrote:

> Such a man can become a great leader in creative work and add greatly to the prestige of the Service, or he can become a veritable Frankenstein who will promote dissension among our own people, make recreation management very unpopular and bring us into disrepute with the elements whose good will and approval we most desire. Carhart did in actual fact do that very thing.

Kneipp went on to say that although landscape architecture training seemed to provide the talents most needed in recreation work, landscape architects tended to be "esthetes and idealists, disposed to dismiss as of small moment the practical problems that our men regard as so important."[34] Kneipp's comments demonstrated clearly his ambivalent outlook toward recreation personnel. Kneipp recognized the need for technically trained recreation personnel, but mistrusted the profession usually entrusted with such work.

The California Region in March 1934 hired six junior foresters, gave them two weeks of training at Pinecrest campground in Stanislaus National Forest in laying out camp and picnic sites to be built by the CCC, and then assigned each one to a National Forest, as a recreation planner.

During the first year of the CCC program the Forest Service, as noted, felt constrained to limit the use of CCC enrollees in recreation development work to the construction of the simplest types of facilities. So the Forest Service continued to build the same sorts of facilities it had built during the previous decade. Other agencies, however, notably the National Park Service, used CCC boys to build more complex and elaborate recreation facilities. Since both types of facilities resulted from the same program, comparison became inevitable.

Within the Forest Service the reopening of this debate over the proper direction of CCC recreation development came as a result of the actions of John D. Guthrie, a general inspector in the Forest Service ECW program, and one of its pioneer foresters and public relations men. Early in June 1934, Guthrie described in a memo to the Chief Forester the sharp contrasts in the recreation developments built by CCC labor for the two principal Federal land management agencies involved. The National Forest recreation sites developed by the CCC did not compare in quality of construction, he contended, to those being developed by the National Park Service in various national and state parks.

> I have been tremendously impressed in visiting SP [state park] camps with . . . well designed artistic and permanently built improvements, constructed almost entirely of stone found on the ground. The reasons for these results are that the N.P.S. early in the CCC took on both experienced landscape engineers and architects, paid them from ECW funds. We have followed no such policy and moreover had been using plans made for the earlier regime of scanty funds. When the CCC show is over, I fear our recreation improvements and our public campgrounds are going to suffer by comparison with those on State Parks and National Parks, and the public may well ask why didn't we do as well with the same means at our command.

Chief Forester Ferdinand A. Silcox, also a Forest Service pioneer, who had succeeded Stuart in December 1933, received Guthrie's blast and forwarded it to Kneipp, who thought it interesting enough to distribute to the Regional Foresters for their comments. The responses of the Regional Foresters provide interesting insight into the internal attitudes of the Forest Service toward recreation development in the second year of the New Deal.

Staffs Expand, Facilities Improve

Nine of the 10 Forest Service regions (all but Alaska) commented on Guthrie's memorandum, but their comments varied almost as much as their terrain and climate differed from each other. The heavily patronized California Region reported hiring trained technical personnel experienced in recreation design. During 1933 the region enjoyed the use of two landscape architects. L. Glen Hall specialized in campground planning, while George Gibbs, hired for a 10-month term, prepared general plans for larger recreation areas like Kings Canyon (later transferred to the National Park Service). Gibbs came to the Forest Service on loan from the western office of the Olmsted Brothers landscape firm. Despite the Region's commitment to planning, however, it did not support Guthrie's proposal advocating heavier construction at recreation sites. Wood construction was deemed better suited to the shifting needs of the Service. The North Pacific Region pointed out to Chief Forester Silcox that it was already doing work of the sort Guthrie suggested. However, the Region felt that the National Forests should not develop some of the more artificial sorts of recreation facilities found in the state parks. These types of facilities did not seem to be in character with Forest Service concepts of recreation, it noted. (The Region's recreation staff has already been mentioned.)

The Intermountain Region, headquartered in Ogden, Utah, agreed with Guthrie's suggestions. The Region made no mention of landscape architects as such on its staff but did claim to have four men working in campground design, each of whom had at least a year's experience in the field. The Southwestern Region, encompassing National Forests in Arizona and New Mexico, voiced a concern similar to the one expressed by the North Pacific Region, that National Forests should not be developed as intensively as State parks. The Region pointed out that any reconsideration of the role of landscape architects in the Service led again to the question of how to get them to understand Forest Service priorities. Rather than take that risk, the Region had employed two foresters in the Albuquerque office (L. J. Arnold and Simeon Strickland) as recreation planners. The statements of the Regional Foresters located in Denver and in Missoula, Mont., resembled those of the Regional Forester at Albuquerque, but neither had a recreation office, or persons with listed recreation duties.

Of the comments of the three eastern National Forest regions, those from the Eastern Region, headquartered in Washington, D.C., were the most interesting. The region announced that it had pursued a policy utilizing landscape architects since the beginning of the CCC program. In the near future it intended to assign a landscape architect to each of its seven National Forests. The other two eastern regions, the new Southern Region headquartered at Atlanta, Ga., just split off from the Eastern that year, and the 5-year-old North Central (formerly Lake States) at Milwaukee, Wis., reported no definite plans, although each commented on Guthrie's proposals. The Atlanta office thought such developments would speed the acceptance of new eastern Forests, but the Milwaukee office feared that elaborate recreation sites would result in the over-development of the National Forests.[35]

Kneipp read the replies of the Regional Foresters carefully and then added his own comments before sending the whole bundle to the Chief. In his covering memorandum Kneipp saw the affair as further justification for the

development of a national recreation planning capability within the Forest Service. To fill this need, he proposed, for the duration of the ECW program, a staff of 12 technically trained men: two in the Washington Office, two in the California Region, and one in each of the remaining eight Regions (excluding Alaska).

Several days after receiving Kneipp's recommendations, Chief Silcox issued a policy statement regarding the emergency programs and their products. He instructed the Regional Foresters to give more attention to the "social" functions of the Forests as they executed the several emergency programs. Permanent recreation improvements, including (picnic and camp) shelters, swimming pools, community buildings, and the like, were to be encouraged. But Silcox did not approve a central recreation office for the Forest Service. Instead he authorized each Region to hire technical personnel and proceed on an individual basis.

Silcox's support for the hiring of landscape architects on the Regional level reinforced what several of the Regions had already undertaken. During September 1934, for example, the Eastern Region carried out its previously announced plan to assign a landscape architect to each of its National Forests.[36]

Several concerns apparently led to Silcox's hesitation to authorize the development of a nationwide recreation staff for the Forest Service. The availability of funds may have been an issue, although other Government agencies usually found the CCC willing to pay for the development of plans needed for the CCC program. Another factor was the long-term commitment of the Forest Service to allow its Regions a high degree of autonomy, a concept that dated back to the Pinchot period. Finally, Silcox realized that the organizational problems of the Forest Service included far more than recreation. A piecemeal solution to the recreation problem might only perpetuate other unsatisfactory situations. Early in 1935 Silcox ordered a broad organizational study of the entire Forest Service, including the recreation program.

The general reorganization study proceeded during the spring of 1935, and it soon became apparent that a central recreation office would result. By May, Kneipp could openly mention in correspondence that the Washington Office was searching for two or three qualified men to oversee recreation planning and development in the National Forest system.[37]

A Study of Field Progress and Problems

Even though the reorganization study had not yet been completed, the Forest Service in July 1935 took two important steps toward developing a national recreation staff—it hired Ernest E. Walker, a trained landscape architect, to work in the Washington Office, and it arranged with the ASLA to have the Society's president, Albert D. Taylor, make a national study of recreation problems in the National Forests.

Late in July, not long after Walker arrived in Washington, Taylor set out on a month-long tour of the National Forests of the Rocky Mountains and Pacific Northwest. As Taylor later summarized his instructions, they directed him to "determine the importance of landscape architecture" to the National Forests, "study . . . landscape conditions existing in the national forests," and "recommend . . . desired changes in present principles, procedures, techniques, and organization . . ." of the Forest Service recreation program.

Taylor returned from his western trip in late August and prepared a rather detailed report, which he completed in September. When he joined this manuscript with a similar report of his October visit to the forests of the Eastern Region, the resulting volume was more than 4 inches thick. Profusely illustrated with photographs, the document treated both specific problems and general trends. Taylor found the Regions to be unevenly equipped to face the problems of recreation and landscape design. Some Regions had developed professional staffs while others retained their pre-New Deal procedures. He noted the sincere efforts of the overworked field staffs but feared that recreation work was "too much decentralized to produce the best results. . . ." As might be expected, the president of the American Society of Landscape Architects saw the solution of the Forest Service's recreation problems in the development of a well-trained landscape architecture staff. He advocated that each Region hire a landscape architect who would be accountable to the Washington Office and Ernest E. Walker. Only in this way, he thought, could real progress occur in the field of recreation design.

Figure 13.—*Tigiwon Campground Recreation Building, Holy Cross National Forest, Colo., built by Forest Service in 1934 using creosoted logs. (This Forest became part of the White River National Forest in 1945.)*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-308734)

Figure 14.—*Camping unit in use, Buffalo Creek site, Targhee National Forest, Idaho, at Island Park Reservoir, major recreation center near Yellowstone National Park. Each unit was provided with picnic table, chopping block and wood, metal stove on concrete platform, and cleared tenting space. Metal stoves were often encased in stone and mortar for natural effect. Note car parked in lot to the rear, preserving ground vegetation. August 1935.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-308799)

Figure 15.—*Foot trail bridge across Logan River in Cache (now administered as part of Wasatch) National Forest, Utah, 1935.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-308787)

Figure 16.—*Stone foot bridge on Ocala National Forest, Florida, 1936.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-326917)

Divisions of "Recreation and Lands" are Created

Taylor's recommendations appeared in time to strengthen the suggestions resulting from the Forest Service reorganization study. When Silcox announced the new Washington Office (WO) organization plan in November 1935, it included a "Division of Recreation and Lands," and Kneipp's office was changed to Land Acquisition. At the same time the Eastern, North Pacific, and California Regions each created a Division of Recreation and Lands, as did the North Central Region in 1936. The Rocky Mountain and Northern Regions did not add Recreation to the name of their Lands Divisions, but the former did put Raymond E. Phillips in charge of "recreation planning," while the latter placed Victor Linthacum in charge of "recreational surveys," and C. B. Swim in charge of "recreational site inspection." Both were foresters. The California Region added a "recreation and uses" specialist (James Gibson) and hired F. M. Sweeley to conduct a recreation survey under his supervision.[38] Two and one-half years into the New Deal, recreation had finally arrived as a national administrative priority of the Forest Service. But it was 1937 before the Washington Office Recreation and Lands Division got a Chief.

During the winter of 1935–36 the Washington Office prepared bound copies of Taylor's reports for the guidance and reference of each of the Regions. The Regions had welcomed Taylor's advice during the previous summer and now they welcomed his reports as guides to good recreation design. The success of the reports, and the need for additional similar information voiced by the growing numbers of field men working in recreation design, led to a decision to send Taylor into the field again during the summer of 1936.

Another Field Study and Recommendations

Taylor's 1936 study went far beyond his effort of the preceding summer. This time he visited all of the Regions and stayed in the field over 3 months. And he did not travel alone. In June 1936, shortly before the beginning of Taylor's summer study travels, landscape architect R. D'Arcy Bonnet transferred from the Eastern Region headquarters, which had hired him as a recreational planner in 1935, to Walker's staff in Washington. Bonnet accompanied Taylor on his entire 3-month journey, taking notes for the time when Taylor would return to his private practice. In the field Taylor discovered what he felt to be significant progress in recreation design since his previous trip, but the volume of work still seemed far beyond the capacities of the field staffs. What bothered Taylor most, despite the existence of a small Recreation and Lands Staff in Washington, was the continuing lack of any meaningful central control over recreation work in

the Forest Service. Each Region still seemed to be pursuing its own path, in policy, planning, hiring, interpretation of responsibilities, design, etc., and was making the same mistakes as the others.

Taylor's report was submitted to the Chief of the Forest Service January 23, 1937, and was probably the catalyst for a memo by Silcox to all Regional Foresters on February 25 in which Silcox said "we must overhaul and improve our methods of handling Recreation" so as to provide more services to the "sharply mounting tide of recreationists." He mentioned the need for plans, personal services, training, many more recreation guards, "show-me" trips, and signs, but said nothing about professional recreation personnel.

Bonnet Urges More Central Guidance

Bonnet, as associate landscape architect, lent his strong support to Taylor's recommendations in a memo to Perry A. Thompson, Acting Chief of Recreation and Lands, on March 25, 1937. He agreed with Taylor that "the Recreation office in Washington must lead and guide the Regions," and that "we should not postpone any longer the establishment of an organization and adoption of a definite program of action." Also, that each "Regional recreational planner should have thorough technical training in landscape architecture" since landscape design was the closest profession to the new field of recreational planning, and that this man need not be an outstanding administrator since the Forest Service has a strong administrative structure. He agreed with Taylor that "the Forest Service should make a careful study of the qualifications of all men employed at present in landscape and recreational planning so that we can be assured that the best qualified man is assigned to the Recreation office in each Region," that "we need to keep an accurate history of individuals before and since employment in the Forest Service," and that the Washington staff should recommend changes. Bonnet said "we should study certain Regions this summer" and agreed that Regions 1, 3, and 5 "have not had enough technically trained personnel in landscape and recreational work" and that "some Forests in Regions 4 and 6 need help." He agreed that the Washington staff should prepare a statement of the duties and responsibilities of each grade of recreation personnel, to send to the Regions.

Conceding with Taylor that "there should be no more centralization than necessary in the Washington Office," he stressed that "a chief fault has been in the appearance of structures and facilities," with too much striving for individual styles which were often poor, and that quantity, not quality, was being stressed in the field. Bonnet disclosed that his office was assembling a collection of the best structural designs to put in portfolios to be sent to each Region. He also urged that "new designs should be approved by the Washington Office after review by Mr. [W. Ellis] Groben, [structural] architect in the Division of Engineering, and the Division of Recreation and Lands," and that a designer and drafter be added to the Washington recreation staff. On the subject of cooperation with Engineering, Bonnet said:

> In most of the Regions and just recently in this office, Recreation and Lands has reached a verbal agreement with Engineering as to collaboration and responsibilities in the various phases of improvement work. I think that it would be an excellent idea if we could amplify Mr. Granger's letter of Jan. 14, 1936, designated "F-Supervision," by making it a matter of record—the extent and responsibilities of each division. Unfortunately, this will have to be done, I think, to get uniformity in all Regions . . .

In his "Suggested Program for the Washington Office," Bonnet said that this collaboration should extend to the Timber Management and Wildlife Divisions as well.

Bonnet further outlined the responsibilities of the Recreation office in Washington: "Initiate Service-wide policies, standards and procedures to be adopted by all Regions and Forests," in planning for recreation, in development work, in administration of recreation areas, and in standards of maintenance. He said it should conduct annual advisory inspection trips of at least one month to each Region, and compile detailed reports to be sent back to the Regions. The central Recreation office, he said, should also compile an inventory of developed and potential recreation areas, annual statistics of use, and periodic questionnaires to the public. Bonnet noted that his office was planning to compile a Service-wide Recreation Handbook for the guidance of the Regions. A letter from his supervisor, Ernest Walker, to the Secretary of Forestry for Queensland, Australia, dated July 12, 1937, disclosed that the Eastern and North Pacific Regions had already prepared such handbooks for their staffs. Thompson approved virtually all of Bonnet's and Taylor's recommendations. Nevertheless, their plan for central direction, regional uniformity, and greater professionalization of Recreation personnel was not implemented Servicewide at that time, although most of it was eventually. Robert Marshall, a forester, took charge of the Division a few weeks later, and worked out his own plan, including elements of theirs which he found useful.

In apparent response to Bonnet's memo, the California Region in 1937 hired six landscape architects and assigned each one to a National Forest. By 1938 this Region was using landscape architects exclusively for campground and other recreation site planning. However, Servicewide standardization of facilities did not come about for another 21 years.

In the 4 years between the beginning of the New Deal and Taylor's second trip in the summer of 1936, the Forest Service made enormous changes in its recreation policy. For a year or two after the beginning of the CCC and public works programs, the Service attempted to

continue to develop the same types of simple facilities it had built during the 1920's. But the public demand for better facilities, Park Service competition, and the opportunity provided by the emergency programs soon led to projects that would never have been considered in earlier years. A talk given by Regional Forester Evan Kelley at the Idaho State Planning Board Recreation Conference in August 1936 aptly summarized the major changes that had taken place. Several years earlier the Service had customarily insisted that it could only provide simple campgrounds and the like, leaving private developments to fill the demand for more elaborate facilities. The Service now, through Kelley, announced in a matter-of-fact way that it saw its role as providing all structures convenient and necessary to National Forest visitors, including bathhouses, picnic shelters, and the like. Echoing Guthrie's proposals of 1934, Kelley noted that not only would the Forest Service supply needed recreation structures but that it would also strive to design and locate those facilities in esthetically pleasing ways. Such facilities could not be other than substantial and permanent.[39]

More Elaborate Structures Built

The table of contents of Taylor's 1936 report gives some idea of the broadened nature of the Forest Service recreation development program; it included many types of recreation structures unknown to earlier Forest Service recreation designers, such as bathhouses, shelters, amphitheaters, and playgrounds. Across the country during the middle 1930's, these types of facilities appeared in National Forests where before there had been only privies and ranger cabins.

In the Green and White Mountains of New England, the CCC program developed a number of elaborate National Forest campgrounds and recreation areas. At Hapgood Pond, on the Green Mountain National Forest, CCC crews developed a recreation site with not only a campground, but also several picnic shelters, a bathhouse and a public beach, a system of stone masonry drinking fountains, and a nature trail. At the Dolly Copp Campground, on the nearby White Mountain National Forest, the Service erected a log-framed picnic shelter with a massive stone fireplace and a log pavilion or community house large enough to shelter several hundred persons. Both structures fell within the so-called "rustic" style of recreation architecture.

At the Juan Tabo Picnic Area on the Cibola National Forest of New Mexico, the Forest Service built a rather substantial set of structures to meet the needs of recreationists. Again the rustic ideal of architecture predominated, but since the site possessed no trees larger than a few small scrub junipers, granite masonry was used in place of log construction. The exterior of the picnic shelter consisted entirely of granite boulders. Outside round concrete tables followed the same motif.

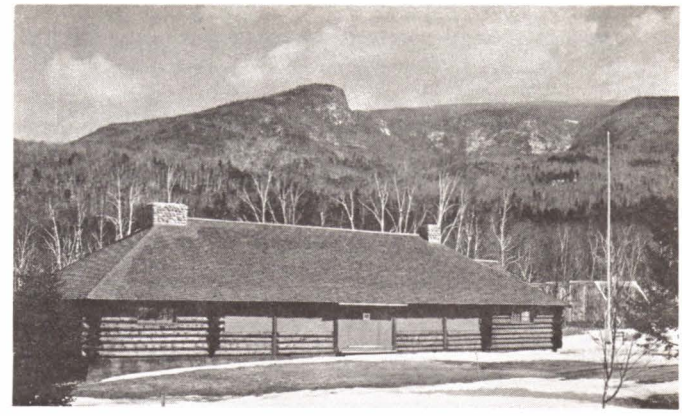

Figure 17.—*Large pavilion-administration building, Dolly Copp Campground, White Mountain National Forest, N.H., built in 1934. Parking area in foreground.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-300715)

Figure 18.—*Log bathhouse under construction with Civilian Conservation Corps labor in 1936 at Soldier Lake, Marquette National Forest, Upper Michigan (since 1962 part of Hiawatha National Forest). Many sizes and styles in cedar shingle, clapboard, and stone were built on National Forests during this period.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-326993)

Figure 19.—*Concrete stage and split log seats of amphitheater built by CCC in Box Elder Picnic Area, Wasatch National Forest, Utah, 1936. High stone masonry wall was added to back of some such structures at this time.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-332186)

Figure 20.—*Appalachian Mountain Club's store adjoining its lodge at Pinkham Notch Camp, White Mountain National Forest. N.H., taken in 1938.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-360458)

Figure 21.—*Visitor registration booth, with split log benches in front, Nantahala National Forest, N.C., 1936.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-326893)

Figure 22.—*Rustic locally crafted playground equipment became standard on Forest Service campgrounds during the CCC period. Camp Creek site, Mt. Hood National Forest, Oregon, 1937.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-354928)

For several years following 1935 the Forest Service aggressively pursued these new standards. Using mainly CCC labor, the Service erected substantial recreation structures in National Forests from coast to coast. A typical picnic area in Mill Creek Canyon on the Wasatch Forest of Utah contained not only the usual picnic facilities but also a stone and log amphitheater capable of seating several hundred visitors. Campers at the Sullivan Lake Campground on the Kaniksu National Forest in Montana enjoyed the use of a solidly constructed shingle-sided bathhouse. Campers dodging summer showers at the Middle Blue and Greer Campgrounds on the Apache National Forest of Arizona discovered log, Adirondack-style shelters erected on many of the campsites. Chemical and even flush toilets made their appearance at some of the most heavily used camp and picnic areas. Time limits had to be set for use of individual family camp units, and fuel wood provided at many sites to prevent destruction by some campers of living trees and campground structures for firewood. The Automobile Club of Southern California and the Los Angeles County Department of Health had cooperated in building 24 chemical toilets on the Angeles National Forest between 1924 and 1930. A few flush toilets had been installed on major public campgrounds in southern California National Forests in the late 1920's. The first shower house in the Region was built in 1922 on the William Kent campground on Lake Tahoe, Tahoe National Forest. These facilities multiplied during the CCC building boom of the 1930's.

But perhaps it was in the North Pacific Region that Forest Service recreation development reached its highest point during the 1930's. Even before the beginning of the New Deal, the North Pacific Region's recreation program, headed by Fred Cleator, had led the National Forest system in recreation facility development. The Region had been the site of the early Columbia River Gorge Park experiment as well as the pioneer Eagle Creek Campground. By the early 1940's, picnic and camp shelters in developed areas were common sights in the National Forests of Oregon and Washington. In 1936 an assistant to Chief Silcox could accurately report that the North Pacific stood far above the other Regions in recreation work.[40]

The level of development of some of the more popular National Forest areas in the Northwest even surpassed that of the National Parks of the Region. Whether they were the octagonal picnic shelters of the Mt. Baker National Forest at Silver Fir and Galena Campgrounds or the individual campers' shelters of the McKenzie Bridge Forest Camp on the Willamette National Forest, recreation structures stood as symbols of the high sensitivity of the Forest Service in the Northwest to recreational needs. So it is not surprising that the climactic expression of the New Deal's National Forest recreational development occurred on the Mt. Hood National Forest, not far from the old Columbia River Gorge Park.

Figure 23.—*Picnic table and bench made of split cedar logs by CCC labor, 1936. Eagle Creek campground, Mt. Hood National Forest, Oregon.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-392900)

Figure 24.—*This 1936 camper's shelter is larger than the simple Adirondack-style shelters shown in figure 8, and has counter, bench, and enclosed cupboards not found in those shelters. McKenzie Bridge camp, Willamette National Forest, Oregon.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-332078)

Figure 25.—*Solid log frame picnic shelter with stone masonry cooking fireplace at rear, built at Soda Springs Camp, Snoqualmie National Forest, Wash., 1936. Several octagonal shelters were built in this Region at this time, and one entirely of fieldstone masonry was built on the Cibola National Forest, N. Mex.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-332119)

Figure 26.—*New summer home, Deschutes National Forest, Oregon, 1935.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-308841)

Figure 27.—*New summer cabin in Union Creek area, Snoqualmie National Forest, Wash., 1936.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-392623)

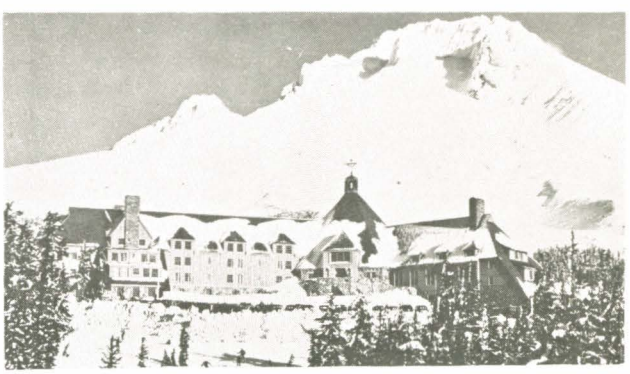

Figure 28.—*Timberline Lodge, famous mecca for skiers since it was built by the Works Progress Administration in 1937 near the peak of Mt. Hood, Oregon, in Mt. Hood National Forest, on the site of Silcox Hut at the head of the old cable tow. It has been operated since for the Forest Service under a concession contract. A chairlift, second in the world after the one at Sun Valley, Idaho, was built in 1938–39.*

(National Archives: Record Group 95G-361325)

Figure 29.—*Mount Magazine Lodge, Ozark National Forest, Ark., was built by WPA in 1939 and operated for the Forest Service under a concession contract for many years. It is the highest point between the southern Appalachians and the Rockies. The Forest Service also operated a number of cottage resorts throughout the South during this period.*

(Forest Service Photo, F-426781)

Timberline Lodge Climaxes the Boom Period

The idea of a new hotel on Mt. Hood had not died with the failure of the Cascade Development Company to complete negotiations for a use permit. After the arrival of the New Deal, in fact, the North Pacific Region began to consider the construction of a publicly owned hotel on the mountain. Chief Silcox approved the idea, but budgetary restraints killed the project before it could take off. In the summer of 1935, however, the Region learned that it probably could obtain funding for the construction of a hotel on Mt. Hood from the Public Works Administration. The Public Works Administration (PWA) accepted the Forest Service application for a Mt. Hood hotel, and by the summer of 1936 a small army of its men was working on the mountainside rushing to get the exterior of the hotel completed before the onset of winter. A. D. Taylor submitted architectural suggestions for construction of the lodge. Ward Gano, a recent engineering graduate of the University of Washington, was assigned by the Forest Service to be resident engineer for the project, and Emmett Blanchfield, a Regional landscape architect, did the landscaping and probably designed the first outdoor log amphitheater. The hotel, Timberline Lodge, soon became known as one of the wonders of the Northwest. Skilled wood carvers, blacksmiths, and other craftsmen lavished their attentions on the projects, producing a massive rustic structure that embodied much of the folklore and legend of the Region. In the fall of 1937 Franklin Roosevelt himself came to Oregon to dedicate the Lodge, which the PWA turned over to the Forest Service after the completion of construction.

A gargantuan rustic structure filled with lavish handcrafted decorations, Timberline Lodge stood in the fall of 1937 as a vivid contrast to the Forest Service recreation policies of the previous decade.[41] In 1927 the Forest Service felt itself philosophically limited to the construction of primitive roadside campgrounds. A decade later the Service not only could accept the idea of owning a five-story hotel, but could also give serious thought to operating the hotel itself. In the end this did not occur, but the very fact of its consideration demonstrates the significant changes of direction that had taken place.

Marshall Heads New Recreation Office

In May 1937 Robert Marshall, a forester and wilderness enthusiast who had been Chief Forester for the Indian Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, became Chief of the Division of Recreation and Lands in the Washington Office. Marshall had a strong and long-lasting influence on Forest Service recreation policy and development, although his career was cut short by an early death after only 30 months. Marshall worked tirelessly to establish a secure position for recreation on an equal footing with the other traditionally more dominant phases of national forest management such as timber and range. He made frequent trips to the field where he used his magnetic personality, great energy, and enthusiasm to persuade some of the more conservative Regional Foresters to give more attention to the recreation and esthetic demands of the public. He made a start toward establishing stronger central guidance, uniformity, professionalism, quality construction, and review in recreational planning and development. But he had to overcome a long-settled tradition of regional independence in all these matters, and much time had to pass before these objectives were converted into everyday established practice. Many field foresters turned recreation planners had studied landscape architecture on the side and had learned much on the job, turning out very creditable performances. And the creed that foresters "could do anything" died hard. Also, architects in the Forest Service's engineering offices were insisting on preeminence in designing recreational construction.

Marshall was an ardent outdoorsman, indefatigable hiker, and persistent advocate of more wilderness and primitive areas as well as adequate camping, outing, scenic, and other recreation areas—not only in National Forests, but also in local, State, and other Federal ownership. He had written the recreation section of the *National Plan for American Forestry* (Copeland Report) issued by the Federal Government in 1933, and had earlier been a research employee of the Forest Service. Independently wealthy, he founded and endowed the Wilderness Society. His view of governmental responsibility toward the public welfare and especially the underprivileged coincided with those of Chief F. A. Silcox, and the philosophy of the New Deal, where he had close friends in high positions.[42]

By the late 1930's with Marshall in charge, recreation had established itself as a major priority of the Forest Service. Walker had helped Silcox prepare an address delivered to the National Recreation Congress in Chicago on October 1, 1935, entitled, "Planning the National Forests for Greater Recreational Uses." In mid-1936 the Forest Service began considering the preparation of a major study of its past, present and future roles in outdoor public recreation, intended to inform the general public. It was triggered by a request by Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace to Chief Silcox in May 1936, to publicize the recreation advantages offered by the National Forests, a request he had made several times before. Earle Clapp, Associate Chief, and Bevier Show, Regional Forester, California Region, discussed such a study with the other Regional Foresters and most of the Experiment Station Directors that summer, and Clapp sent each of the Regional Foresters and Directors a copy of an outline he and Show had prepared in a letter in September. They suggested that the report be attractively and distinctively printed, well illustrated with pictures, maps, etc. Instructions to the field for preparation of preliminary drafts and collection of data were sent out in January 1937. Field reports were to be sent to Washington in the fall, 15 or more men were to be detailed to Washington, and the final report would be prepared in Washington during the fall and winter of 1937-38. In all, 30 Forest Service men, administrators and specialists in various fields, participated in writing parts of the report. In the process of revising the drafts and putting them together in chapter form, it was decided to obtain the assistance of Russell Lord, a professional writer, to rewrite and edit the entire project. In April 1939 Robert Marshall reviewed Lord's first draft, and the book appeared a year later, entitled *Forest Outings*. Marshall himself had drafted portions of the book. It was the first major book on Forest Service recreation.[43]

Meanwhile, expansion of recreational facilities in the field had become impressive. During fiscal year 1937–38 alone, Marshall's first year, the Service supervised the improvement of 2,966 acres of National Forest campgrounds, and the total number of developed campgrounds was 3,587. (Of the latter, 1,048 were in California, 525 in Oregon, 368 in Washington, and 318 in Idaho.) The 1937 Chief's Report stated that the Forest Service was employing 75 professionally trained landscape architects, but acknowledged that most of them were being paid from emergency funds and that larger appropriations than in the past would be needed to continue this work.

Walker Requests Job Security, Status for Professionals

So, despite all the progress made, the professional recreation program was still not solidly established, for very few of the landscape architecture personnel held permanent positions within the Service. By 1939 some of the landscape architects on regional recreation staffs had been with the Forest Service for nearly 6 years, yet had no protection whatsoever against immediate, unexpected dismissal. In short, despite the recommendations of Kneipp, Carhart, Taylor, Waugh, Bonnet, and others, the Forest Service had still not yet developed a permanent professional staff of landscape architects for its recreation offices. In April 1939, the problem was brought up once again, in a memo to Marshall by Ernest Walker, who was in charge of the Branch of Recreation, Planning and Architecture in the Washington Office's Division of Recreation and Lands. In at least one respect Walker's problem was somewhat different from that of his predecessors. They had fought to bring needed talent into the Forest Service; Walker's fight was to hold the talent that had been collected. Walker's main complaint was that landscape architects in the Forest Service did not have adequate professional status or support. Some of the good men brought into the Service had left already and more would do so, he warned, if they could not obtain both job security and increased professional status.

The Forest Service responded by making another survey of its recreation program and staffing. Acting Chief Earl W. Loveridge asked each of the Regional Foresters to provide the number, Civil Service status, and job description of every regional employee involved in recreation work. Their replies cited both successes and failures since the change of direction ordered by Silcox in 1934. Each of the 10 Regions listed one or more landscape architects on its headquarters staff. Each had a "Division of Recreation and Lands." Walker summarized the responses of the Regional Foresters in another memorandum, to John Sieker, assistant director of Recreation and Lands. Walker did not dwell long on these obvious successes; instead he plunged into what he judged to be the main problems made visible by the reports. The Regions had identified 60 landscape architects working as technical recreational personnel. Of these 60 only 11 had permanent Civil Service-approved positions. All the rest were temporary employees.

The report of the Eastern Region seemed to illustrate most clearly the problems of the existing program. Since 1934 the Region had tried to maintain a one to one ratio between landscape architects and National Forests. This had been successful until early in 1939 when the Chief Forester informed the Region that henceforth it could only use CCC funds to pay for projects actually completed by the CCC. Since all of the landscape architects in the Region had been temporary employees paid by the CCC, the Chief's edict brought the Regional recreation design program to an abrupt halt. None of the Region's landscape architects had spent his time solely on plans for the CCC and several of the Forests no longer had CCC

camps. As a result the Region now maintained landscape architects only on the three National Forests where CCC camps existed. The whole Region keenly felt the loss of this technical support.[44]

The end of the 1930's found the Forest Service deeply involved in the development of recreation sites. When its old philosophical barriers against elaborate recreation sites disappeared in 1934 and 1935, the Forest Service moved to develop new and different types of recreation facilities with considerable enthusiasm. During the last years of the decade, for example, under Robert Marshall's direction, the Service built a number of organization camps, substantial facilities designed primarily for the use of low-income adults and 4-H clubs and similar youth groups. By 1939 there were 15 such camps around the country, in addition to the more than 800 private organization camps in or adjacent to National Forests. Downhill skiing areas began to appear as interest in that sport rose. In Arkansas the Forest Service took over a moderate sized new lodge built by the PWA on Mt. Magazine, the highest point between the Southern Appalachians and the Rockies.

But, as Ernest Walker feared, while all these developments were taking place, support was waning for all National Forest activities including recreation work. Forest Service spending during the 1930's peaked in fiscal year 1936–37 and receded for several years thereafter. The 1940–41 budget equalled less than 60 percent of the record 1936–37 budget. The decline of the CCC program came at the same time. During 1936 as many as 644 CCC camps operated on National Forest lands, but by 1941 the number had been cut in half, to 322, and in 1942 it was abolished.

World War II Puts Damper on Recreation

As recreation projects tapered off, so did employment of technical personnel. By 1941 many of the landscape architects on temporary recreation duty that Walker had identified in 1939 had left the Service. And the entry of the United States into World War II in December 1941 resolved any lingering doubts about the fate of the remaining ones. With national defense priorities foremost, public works recreation allotments ceased.

Finally, as a war economy measure, the permanent recreation planning positions were suspended for the duration, and the men either left for the armed services, other jobs, or were assigned other duties deemed more urgent, as were many other Forest Service personnel at that time. However, half of the Regions retained a professional recreation planner through the war period, except for brief armed forces service for some. R. D. Bonnet, who had transferred in 1939 from the Washington Office to a new permanent landscape architect position in the California Region, found his entire staff of landscape architects let go, and himself turned into a general land use planner as the war continued, although he remained on the Recreation Staff. Ray E. Bassett, North Central Region; Frederic A. Baker, Southwestern Region, Winton H. Reinsmith, Southern Region, and Linn Forrest, Alaska Region, had similar experiences. Donald R. Partridge succeeded Harold L. Curtiss as the Intermountain Region recreation specialist in 1944. World War II did lead to dismantling of the Forest Service's recreation planning and development staff that had grown up in the 1930's, and rebuilding the staff did take many years. However, a core of professionals remained on hand to help with the rebuilding process.

The work accomplished by this staff between 1933 and 1942 should not be discounted. By 1939, the Forest Service had installed 23,000 developed overnight individual family camping units, and 30,000 individual family picnic units on the National Forests. In 1941 the Chief of the Forest Service, Earle Clapp, summed up the progress of the New Deal decade when he noted in his annual report that the National Forests contained 2,300 developed campgrounds, 572 picnic areas, 1,381 recreation areas offering both camping and picnicking, 254 winter sports areas, 54 federally built organization camps for people of modest means, and 11 federally financed resorts.[45] Winter sports had started their great growth. The size and variety of this list, when placed in contrast to the goals that Kneipp, Greeley, and Stuart had voiced in 1920's, clearly demonstrated the magnitude of the philosophical change of direction the Forest Service recreation program underwent during the New Deal. Never again could the Service look at recreation merely as a matter of designating a few roadside camping areas with tables and privies.

National Forest recreation had become a part of life for tens of millions of Americans, and an important, if somewhat secondary, facet of National Forest administration. By the eve of World War II, the stage had been prepared for the vastly increased role forest recreation would play in postwar National Forest management, a role that has continued to expand in scope and significance, and whose growth shows no sign of diminishing in our time.

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